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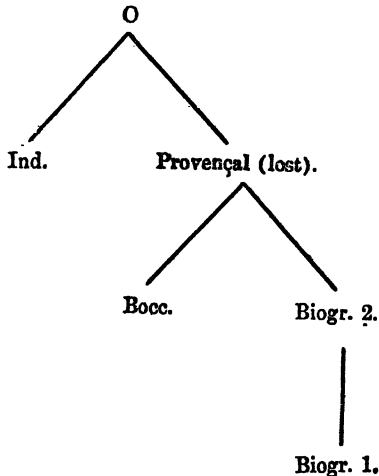
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All these versions must go back to a common source, but Boccaccio and Biogr. 2 are more closely related in that both derive from the same lost Provençal intermediary. The following table will make this relation clear :



On the basis of this table we are able to elucidate some of the features of Boccaccio and Biogr. 2 that have given rise to difficulty.

The lost Provençal version probably did not associate the story with a troubadour. This innovation belongs to the author of Biogr. 2, for in both the other versions the two men are of equal station in life. The problem is complicated by the names, Boccaccio : Guiglielmo Rossiglione, Guiglielmo Guardastagno ; Biogr. 2 : Raimon de Castel Rossillon, Guillem de Capestaing. Taking the story to be of Oriental origin, Patzig believes that the name Rasálu was associated with Rossillon in Provence and localized at Castel-Rosello in the duchy of Roussillon. Not far from this castle are two places, Capeatang and Cabestang. Since Boccaccio's names are not found in reality, they must be later than the Provençal names. Thus the story came from the Orient to Southern France, was there adapted to local geography and nomenclature, and the hero becomes a troubadour because the home of Guillem de Cabestaing was located in the neighborhood of Castel-Rosello, and because the troubadour addressed his poems to a certain Raimon. This story, or a close variant of it, was known to Boccaccio. He did not care to accept the hero's quality as poet, because in its new form the story would be more

effective, and so he slightly altered the form of the name ; Cabestaing (= Teichhaupt) becomes Guardastagno (= Teichhauptmann), and the husband becomes Guiglielmo R., like the lover, because Boccaccio desired to emphasize the equal rank of the two friends.

This reasoning is no doubt very keen, but its very artificiality is its weakness. And in addition the arguments which we have advanced above show that the relation of the texts upon which it is based and which it at the same time tries to prove is impossible. Since both Boccaccio and Biogr. 2 must derive from a common source, we can only say that the common name (Rossillon) must have stood in all probability in the common source. For the other we shall have to accept Gaston Paris' opinion that it may have been closely similar to Guardastagno (perhaps it was Guardastaing). Its similarity to Cabestaing and the further fact that the troubadour addressed a nobleman by the name of Raimon de Castel-Rosello caused the story to be attributed to the well known troubadour of that name, and by this change of protagonist caused all the other alterations (geographical and chronological) that we see in the Provençal biography.

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#### A FURTHER NOTE ON THE SUITORS IN THE *PARLIAMENT OF FOWLS*.

The crucial points in Chaucerian chronology are 1369 and 1381, which mark approximately the composition of the *Book of the Duchess* and the *Parliament of Fowls*. The date of the latter poem rests upon the theory, first proposed by Koch in 1877,<sup>1</sup> that the *Parliament* represents allegorically the wooing of Anne of Bohemia by Richard II,

\*The material here published was found among Professor Matzke's papers and is the preliminary draft of a portion of what he intended should constitute a much more extensive study. Only one section of this study was completed. It will appear in the *Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliott*, with the title: "The Roman du Châtelain de Couci and Fauchet's Chronique."

<sup>1</sup> *Englische Studien*, I, 287-289.

which resulted in their marriage in January, 1382. This interpretation having been accepted by Chaucerian scholars almost with unanimity since its first proposal, Prof. O. F. Emerson's recent paper on *The Suitors in Chaucer's Parlement of Foules*,<sup>2</sup> advocating an important modification of the accepted theory, is one of unusual interest. It is the purpose of the present note to add to the discussion a certain amount of evidence that will, I think, reinforce Prof. Emerson's already strong case.

According to the old theory of the allegory, the three male eagles of the *Parliament of Fowls* symbolise Anne's three suitors, Guillaume de Bavière, betrothed to her in 1371, Friedrich of Meissen, betrothed to her in 1373, and Richard II, who became a suitor for her in 1380. According to the new theory they represent Friedrich of Meissen, Charles VI of France (whom Prof. Emerson has shown<sup>3</sup> to have been a candidate for her hand in 1379 and 1380), and Richard. No one who has read Prof. Emerson's article can have, it seems to me, the smallest doubt that the allegory represents Charles in the guise of the third eagle. It is equally certain that Richard is the first eagle. The only uncertainty still remaining relates to the identity of the second eagle. Did Chaucer intend him to represent Guillaume de Bavière, or Friedrich of Meissen?

Prof. Emerson decides without hesitation that the second eagle represents Friedrich of Meissen. His chief reason for the decision is that it would be "a strange procedure on Chaucer's part to introduce, as a rival suitor of Richard, one whose betrothal had been broken off as early as 1373, at least seven, perhaps nine years, before the time of the poem."<sup>4</sup> He offers, however, no evidence of

the breaking off of the earlier match. The betrothal of Anne to Friedrich in 1373 is of course good evidence of the attitude of *her* family in the matter, but what was the attitude of the Duke Albert de Bavière, the father of Guillaume?<sup>5</sup> Did he continue to assert his right to the fulfilment of the old marriage contract,<sup>6</sup> or did he acquiesce in its abrogation?

Upon this point we have information that

<sup>5</sup>The identification of Anne's first suitor with Guillaume de Bavière, or Wilhelm von Baiern-Holland, rests upon the authority of Höfler's *Anna von Luxemburg, Denkschriften Wien. Akad. Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, xx, p. 128: "Sie [Anna] wurde im Jahre 1371 dem Herzoge Wilhelm von Baiern-Holland als Braut zugesagt; der Bräutigam heiratete jedoch 1386 die Prinzessin Margaretha, Tochter Philipp des Kühnen, Herzogs von Burgund." Höfler has been followed by Tatlock, *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, p. 42, and Emerson, *l. c.*, p. 47. Pelzel, *Lebensgeschichte des römischen und böhmischen Königs Wenceslaus*, p. 28, says: "Es ward auch damals zwischen dem Sohne des Herzogs Albrecht von Bayern und der kaiserlichen Prinzessin Anna eine Vermählung verabredet." On p. 33, however, Pelzel says: "Der Kaiser, sein [Wenzels] Vater, gerieth damals mit dem Hause Bayern wegen Brandenburg in Zwistigkeit. Die ersten Folgen davon waren, dass die oben erwähnte Heyrath zwischen dem jungen Herzog Albrecht, und Wenzels Schwester Anna, zurückgieng," (italics mine). This raises the question, which of Albert's sons was Anna betrothed to? Guillaume, born 1365, was the eldest, and Albert was the second, son of Albert de Bavière (see *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, I, 231 and XLIII, 90-92). Pelzel does not state the source of his information, tho a note on the sentence quoted above from p. 28 says: "Sie war im Jahr 1366. den 11. May geboren. Beness Minorita, p. 47." It is possible that Beness, who is not accessible to me, may have some statement about the match. This author is contained in *Monumentorum Boh.*, Tom. IV, Praga, 1779, 4to, ed. Cl. Dohnerus (Pelzel, Verzeichniss, p. xi). Höfler gives no reference to his source, but refers directly after to Pelzel, p. 33, as authority for Anne's betrothal to Friedrich. The identity of this suitor must remain uncertain until we can find Pelzel's source for this detail. It seems, *a priori*, very unlikely that the emperor should have betrothed Anne, who was later esteemed such a desirable match, to Albert's second son. We should certainly expect her to be matched with the heir, Guillaume. In view of this, and of the ease with which a blunder of this sort might have got into Pelzel's text, we are justified in holding to Höfler's view until further evidence is produced.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. for example the case of Friedrich of Meissen, whose engagement "was never formally broken, but merely set aside by Anne's imperial brother" (Emerson, p. 50), so that Friedrich still claimed rights based upon the marriage contract of 1373 (Emerson, pp. 49, 50).

<sup>2</sup>*Modern Philology*, VIII, 45-62, July, 1910.

<sup>3</sup>*Modern Philology*, VIII, 51 ff.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 47. As another reason for doubting that Guillaume de Bavière is represented in the second eagle, Prof. Emerson says: "Others may have wondered what reason we have to suppose that Chaucer even knew of such an engagement. Such news would surely not have had international circulation, nor would it have been freely communicated to those interested in this new match" (p. 47). The force of this latter argument is destroyed by the facts presented a little later in the present paper, showing the intimate relation in which Guillaume de Bavière's father stood to the English court.

makes it clear that Albert de Bavière had no reason to be dissatisfied with the annulment of the contract, for we find him arranging for his son shortly after 1373, a marriage that was at least as advantageous, probably more so, than the one that had been abandoned. On February 6, 1374, Charles V of France charged commissioners to treat in his name in regard to the marriage of Marie his daughter with Guillaume the eldest son of the Duke Albert de Bavière.<sup>7</sup> On February 10, Albert empowered five commissioners to draw up a treaty of marriage.<sup>8</sup> This treaty was drawn up by the commissioners, submitted by them to Charles and Albert on March 3, 1374,<sup>9</sup> and confirmed by Charles on March 16, 1375.<sup>10</sup> The new marriage contract would, of course, have completely annulled any right Guillaume might have retained to the hand of Anne, even if the match had been broken off by Anne's father without the consent of Albert. It would therefore have been impossible for Chaucer in the *Parliament of Fowls* to represent Guillaume as one of Anne's suitors; a rival of Charles VI, his brother-in-law elect. That the marriage of Guillaume de Bavière and Marie de France did not take place but was prevented by the death of Marie in 1377,<sup>11</sup> does not affect the situation.

Here the question may perhaps be raised, how much of this information is likely to have been in the possession of Chaucer and the English court? Considering the fact that Chaucer himself had been commissioned to treat in regard to a marriage between Richard II and one of the daughters of Charles V,<sup>12</sup> we must say if Chaucer ever had any information, he certainly knew that the princess Marie had been betrothed to Guillaume de Bavière. If he had not had such information, he would not have been competent to perform the commission on which he was sent. And altogether apart from this special interest that Chaucer and the English court had in the daughters of Charles

V between 1377 and 1380, Albert de Bavière had for a long time been well-known to them, for he was the son of Queen Philippa's sister, Margaret of Hainaut. Of his visit to England in 1367, Froissart speaks as follows:

En ce meysme temps passa li dus Aubiers ad ce dont baus de Haynnau, de Hollandes et de Zellandes, et vint en Engleterre en grant arroy de chevaliers et d'escuiers de son pays, pour veoir le roy englês, son oncle, et madame la royne Phelippe, sa tante, et ses chiers cousins, leurs enfans. Si fu des dessus dis bien conjois et festyès à Londres et ou castiel de Windesore, et quant il eut là esté xv jours, il s'en parti et prist congiet au roy et à le royne, qui li donnèrent pluisseurs biaux jeuiaux, et à ses chevaliers ossi. Si repassa li dis dus Aubers la mer à Douvres, et arriva à Callais, et revint arrière au Kesnoy en Haynnau, dont il estoit premièrement partis, deviers madame Marguerite, la ducoise sa femme.<sup>13</sup>

At a later time, after the death of Edward III, there was talk in England of marrying Richard to a daughter of Albert de Bavière, says Froissart:

En celle saison eut grans consaulx en Engleterre des oncles dou roy, des prélas et des barons dou païs pour le jone roy Richart d'Engleterre maryer, et euissent volentiers li Englês veu que il se fuist maryés en Haynnau pour l'amour de la bonne royne Phelippe leur dame, qui leur fu si bonne, si large et si honnable, qui avoit esté de Haynnau; mais li dus Aubiers en che tamps n'avoit nulle fille en point pour marier.<sup>14</sup>

Later in the reign of Richard, Guillaume de Bavière also became a conspicuous figure in England, for in 1384 he was sought by John of Gaunt as a husband for his daughter Philippa,<sup>15</sup> and when he visited England in 1391, distinguished himself by his jousting, and received the Order of the Garter.<sup>16</sup>

These facts make it evident that Chaucer in

<sup>7</sup> Devillers, *Cartulaire des comtes de Hainaut*, Bruxelles, Académie Royale des Sciences, 1881, vi, pt. 1, 393.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 395.

<sup>11</sup> *Histoire généalogique de la maison de France*, P. 1547; i, 616.

<sup>12</sup> *Life-records of Chaucer*, Chaucer Soc., Pt. 4, Doc. 143, p. 230: "causa locucionis habite de maritagio inter ipsum Dominum Regem nunc et filiam eiusdem aduersarij sui Francie."

<sup>13</sup> *Oeuvres de Froissart*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove; *Chroniques*, vii, 243, 244; for date see editor's note, p. 521.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, ix, 212.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, x, 307: veoit-elle [Jehane de Braibant] le duc Aubert, bail de Haynnau, et la ducoise sa femme avoir des biaux enfans, dont il y en avoit jusques à deus fils et filles tous mariavles, et entendoit que li dus de Lancastre rendoit et mettoit grant paine à ce que Philippe sa fille, que il ot de la bonne ducoise Blance, sa première femme, fu marie à l'ainsné fil dou duc Aubert qui par droit devoit estre hiretiers de la conté de Haynnau, de Hollandes et de Zellandes.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, xiv, 255-269; for date see Nicholas, *Orders of British Knighthood*, L. 1842, ii, p. liii, Append.

1380 or 1381 could not have intended to represent Guillaume de Bavière as a suitor for the hand of Anne. If we had still any doubt upon the point, that doubt would be resolved by the fact that on her journey from Bohemia to England at the end of the year 1381, to be married to Richard, Anne was for three or four days the guest of Albert and his duchess at Ath.<sup>17</sup> We could have no better evidence of the friendly feeling that existed between the families of Guillaume and Anne.

Since the time of Tyrwhitt Chaucerian scholars have been unanimous in their opinion that the composition of the *Parliament of Fowls* was in some way related to a royal marriage or some other definite occasion of that nature. Ten Brink says :

Das parlament der vögel trägt alle merkmale eines gelegenheitsgedichts,<sup>18</sup>

tho he does not state precisely what these "merkmale" are, and had perhaps never actually formulated them. Now, apart from the undefined impression we all have that this poem is the kind of thing that is likely to contain a double meaning, does the *Parliament of Fowls* contain any specific indication that Chaucer is addressing his work to a particular individual in the hope of giving pleasure and receiving a reward? I think it does.

The beginning of the *Parliament of Fowls* tells us, it will be remembered, how Chaucer's reading provided him with the subject matter of his poem. After spending the day reading *Scipio's Dream* he fell asleep. In a vision Scipio Africanus appeared to him and said that as a reward for the attention Chaucer had given to his old book he would give him matter to write about.

<sup>17</sup> Devillers, v, 657, 658 :—

24 novembre.—"Données à Mons en Haynnau, le vintequatreisme jour dou mois et l'an dessusdit (novembre, l'an quatre vins et un)." Mandement du duc Albert à Lambert de Lobbes, pour le payement de ses dépenses et de celles de la duchesse et de leur hôtel faites à Ath, à la venue de la reine d'Angleterre du (20) au samedi (23) novembre, au dîner.

24 novembre.—Mandement du duc Albert à Thierri de Presiel, châtelain d'Ath, pour le payement "des frais et hostages de le roine d'Engletière, de ses gens et de leurs chevaux, fais à Ath depuis le merkedi au disner xx<sup>e</sup> jour dou mois de novembre, l'an quatre vins et un, jusquez au venredi après ensuivant."

<sup>18</sup> *Chaucer Studien*, 127.

thou hast thee so wel born  
In loking of myn olde book to-torn,  
Of which Macrobie roghte nat a lyte,  
That somdel of thy labour wolde I quyte !<sup>19</sup>

says Scipio. And a little later, when he has brought Chaucer to the gate of the Garden of Love, he says :

And if thou haddest cunning for t'endyte,  
I shal thee shewen mater of to wryte.<sup>20</sup>

The concluding stanza of the poem refers back unmistakably to this introduction :

And with the showing, whan hir song was do,  
That foules maden at hir flight a-way,  
I wook, and other bokes took me to  
To rede upon, and yet I rede alway ;  
I hope, y-wis, to rede so som day  
That I shal mete som thing for to fare  
The bet ; and thus to rede I nil not spare.

Is it not fair to paraphrase the last five lines of this stanza as follows? "I have always been, and shall continue to be, a great reader. This very dream I have been telling you about came to me because of a book I read. I hope it may some day or other be my good fortune to read a book that will cause me to have a dream that will result in something that will be to my advantage." According to this interpretation of the lines, Chaucer here recommends himself to the King, and in a delicate and characteristic manner expresses his hope for some mark of royal favor.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> LL. 109-112.

<sup>20</sup> LL. 167, 168.

<sup>21</sup> This interpretation, so far as I have been able to find, has never before been brought into the discussion of the poem. Koch discusses the stanza both in *Englische Studien* and in *Essays on Chaucer*. Exactly what his interpretation was is by no means clear, but it was at all events something quite different from that presented in the present paper. For facility of comparison I give here the comments he makes upon the passage.

Referring to the Ten Brink's characterisation of the *Parliament of Fowls* as a "gelegenheitsgedicht," he says : Doch betrachten wir die öfters erwähnte schlusstrophe, so können wir es nur in dem sinne als ein solches bezeichnen, als ein bestimmter äusserer anlass den dichter zur composition desselben angeregt hat. Es kann nicht so aufgefasst werden, als ob Chaucer es auf bestellung einer hochgestellten persönlichkeit oder als dedication an eine solche zur feier einer brautwerbung gefertigt habe, woran zu denken man wohl durch den zu allgemein gehaltenen ausdruck "gelegenheitsgedicht" verführt wäre. Denn erstlich ist in dieser beziehung das werkchen unvollendet : es

If this interpretation be accepted it offers a certain amount of independent evidence of the existence of an allegory, for such a dedication would very properly lead one to suspect, on mere *a priori* grounds, that the poem carried a double meaning. When, in addition to this *a priori* evidence, we have very strong *a posteriori* evidence, namely, an explanation of the allegory that accords admirably with the details of the poem, with the time at which, on other grounds, it is likely to have been composed, and with the known facts of Chaucer's relations with Richard II and the court, we may justly say that Koch's theory as modified by Prof. Emerson rests upon grounds of proof that come little short of amounting to a demonstration.

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#### THE ALLEGORY IN LYLY'S *ENDIMION*.

It is probable that most readers of Professor Feuillerat's splendid new book on John Lyly (Cambridge University Press, 1910) will feel genuine disappointment and vexation when they come to the chapter in which he treats the play of *Endimion* (*Première Partie* VII, pp. 141-190). That a critic so deeply learned and so charming in expression should lend the weight of his deserved

authority to the fantastic interpretation there promulgated of the allegory in the play seems not only a misfortune to the many who will gain pleasure from his volume, but a veritable obstruction to the progress of the scientific scholarship which he elsewhere advances so notably.

During the last twenty years several hundreds of pages have been filled with explanations of the personal symbolism in *Endimion*, all mutually antagonistic and, it seems to me, fatally super-subtle. During these years, Lyly criticism has run wild through the same chaos of unbased and over-refined conjecture which made up much of the Shakespeare criticism of the eighteenth century; till it is hardly surprising that several writers—notably the late Professor Morley and Mr. Percy W. Long—have closed their eyes in disgust upon the whole problem and declined to admit that any personal allegory exists. Professor Feuillerat's interpretation, supplanting those of Halpin, of Professor Baker, and of Mr. Bond, is the most ingeniously worked out and the most eloquently delivered of all; equally, it is the most astounding and the one most contradictory of what we know or can reasonably infer concerning the purpose and nature of the play.

The Reverend N. J. Halpin first suggested, in 1843, that *Endimion* is an allegory of court life, portraying fashionable characters of the day, of whom the most important are Queen Elizabeth (Cynthia), the Earl of Leicester (Endimion), and Leicester's two living wives, Lady Sheffield (Tellus) and Lady Essex (Floscula). In 1894, Professor Baker presented a somewhat different and more ambitious explanation, according to which the piece is to be regarded as a play of political import, written in 1579 in direct championship of the Earl of Leicester. In 1902, Mr. Bond, the editor of Lyly, argued at large in favor of 'widening the scope' of the allegory, and did widen it to the extent of introducing as the prototype of Tellus the personage next in historic conspicuousness to Queen Elizabeth herself—Mary Queen of Scots. And now M. Feuillerat stretches the allegory yet farther, till, retaining Bond's identification of Tellus with Mary, he accomplishes the amazing result of pronouncing Endimion—the lover who sways between Cynthia and Tellus—no less a person than the third political dignitary of the

fehlt eine befriedigende antwort der umworbenen schönen, wenn man auch eine solche aus der haltung des ganzen im voraus entnehmen könnte. Zweitens widersprechen einer solchen auffassung die oben citirten worte: "I rede alway . . . and hope . . . I shal mete sommethyng for to fare the bet . . .," worte, die unmöglich an das ende eines hochzeitscarmen gepasst hätten." (*Englische Studien*, I, 287.)

In the English version of the essay Koch is a little more definite. His chief dicta, omitting what is in substance only what has just been quoted from his first version of the essay, are these: "But if we look at the last stanza [of the *P. of F.*] we see that Chaucer was searching for a new subject to work on" (*Essays on Chaucer*, Chaucer Society, Pt. IV, p. 402). "Supposing the *House of Fame* to be the 'comedy' our poet wished to write, the *Parlament of Foules* would be a prelude of it, a kind of preparation for it. 'I hope,' he says, 'I shal mete something for to fare the bet' (*ibid.*, pp. 403, 404). And finally: '... consulting the last stanza, . . . the concluding words of which would have been no compliment to the dedicatee, we must deny any relation of this sort' " (*ibid.*, p. 405).